[illegible]

MARRIAGE RITES

554 T's family decide when the period of engagement shall be terminated. Although it is considered undignified for X or his relatives to hurry them in this matter, there is always a certain amount of urging. T's father has strong reasons for procrastination. A long engagement strengthens the status of the children whom his daughter may bear, and besides, he frequently receives presents from X's relatives. As T's relatives will have to bear the heavier part of the expenses of the wedding, it may be necessary for them to delay it for years while saving the requisite goods. The ceremony may take 565 place at any time of the year. Foreign guests are occasionally invited, but usually only the members of X's and T's village are present. If the marriage should be with the child of a foreign chief his relatives and friends are present to take part. When T's relatives decide that they are ready, they choose the actual day after consultation with X's family, though the assumption is that T's father merely informs X's father of the date.

565 It is incumbent on X's family to proclaim the event on the 123 day preceding the ceremony. To the less educated his father sends a herald through the village calling out:

"*Gwimwp*, ye chiefs! *Gwimwp*, ye wives of chiefs! *Gwimwp*, ye commoners!"

The actual meaning of *gwimwp* is unknown, though it is well understood to be an invitation to gather for the announcement of a wedding. In conjunction with the announcement a musical canoe is used, although all in the village are probably well aware of what is about to take place. It is noteworthy that at a marriage the guests, as well as the participants, are called by the ceremonial canoes, as opposed to the festal canoes by which individuals who own such are generally known. But colouring is much in evidence at weddings; heralds arrive clothed with red paint and the guests similarly dye themselves. They wear collars, wristlets, and anklets of scalped cedar bark, and cover themselves with eagle down.

U.88 Dorsetshi. D. 5 (1922-1924)/1948
9321 Bellacombe 1921

cried to incorporate as many of them as possible, so that the air soon became a chorus of discordance. The songs were sung and sung until all present were familiar with them, then the dance of the ox declined and all departed.

The following afternoon everyone, including those unmarried into either society, were invited to the dancer's house. Probably the only absentees from the village were the dancing wife and her lover, while guests from neighbouring settlements were also in attendance. On this occasion, for the first time, the deserted husband used to take the leading part. When the singers struck up the tune of the first song, he used to appear, supported by four or five assistants. His face was blackened with soot, he wore a lynx-skin belt, and above his head was fashioned some insulting object, usually a representation of the female organs made of wood, cuttle-bark and berries, as realistic as possible. As the singers sang, aided by those who had learnt the songs on the previous day, the husband danced, moving his body so that the ornament on top of his head was shaken suggestively. Meanwhile the spectators kept calling out filthy epithets of any kind on to the ex-wife and her lover. Sometimes the dancer was able to inject some obscene remarks into the display. On one occasion, for example, he pulled some lynx fur from his belt and threw it in the face of a Tiki-o man who happened to be present, and who had once seduced a married woman and accordingly bore the face of a similar cut, with the remark:

"All Tiki-o women have hairy pubends like that."

The guests were invited to suggest foul nick-names for the man with whom the dancer's wife had eloped. One of these was adopted by general agreement of opinion, and the man was commonly called by it henceforth. Two names so created were:

Ibalom, "The One Whose Face is Wrinkled like a Woman's Organ," and,

Emelawili, "The One Who Cohabited Publicly."

[illegible] THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

has come. If strangers of the face, they realize that some supernatural, invisible visitor has arrived.

They then go from house to house, and sometimes to adjacent villages as well,[1] inviting the people to pay a farewell visit to the dead man who will soon leave them; in this invitation the crest name of the deceased is used. The guests assemble at once, irrespective of their rank or membership in the crest society. To mark their grief, female relatives pull out tufts of their hair, and both men and women of the immediate family cut their hair short. The body, either in its coffin or covered with blankets, is placed between the central fire and the back-room, immediately behind the place where the singers take their stations. When all are present, a man or other near relative who is also a fluent speaker, stands up and expounds how the Chief, meaning Mahaihi, has come to visit the dead man, and how all should try to understand the song he has brought.[2] A hidden crowd has been blowing a whistle intermittently, and the singers pretend to be able to understand words of a song in its notes. In reality they have prepared in advance the new one which they now begin out, accompanied by their rattles. The theme either describes the coming of the supernatural visitor, or recounts the number of protection given by the deceased, and the manner in which these will make smooth the path whither he is going in the same way that distributed goods validate a chief's rank in this world. This song is practised and improved upon until the beginning of the attitude as if the singers were constantly gaining new ideas and unfolding inferences from the words of the supernatural visitor. Sometimes a few incidents are added from the crest myth. After several repetitions, a relative of the dead man asks the singers to hear out the latter's crest songs, as many of them as are remembered from the time he was first initiated into the so-

[1] The Kelp Bella are apt to invite large guests to the ceremony.

[2] Sometimes the people are unaware what the singing is intended, hesitant to standing out a feature on the trail, some place. There are variations to this, as in all other crest rites.

[illegible]

place in the manner already described. After passing through the fourth hole, or for the fourth time through the single opening, the two go to some lonely spot in the forest where the ceremony ended. They light a fire and deposit on it some of his clothing, placing the rest in a stump or hollow tree. The friend always takes with him a supply of new clothing which the person being purified puts on and returns home, cleansed from the immediate taint of death.

The above are persons widows or widow, but does not also the fact that for one year they are commonly "unclean" and must obey sundry taboos. They must not go to the bank of the river, or even appear at the front door of a house facing it. To do so is displeasing to the salmon, for the same reason they cannot eat this fish unless it has been smoked. If they wish to travel on the ocean, they cannot embark at the village but must go through the woods to a point on the shore and there be picked up by the canoe. There is a regular "Widows and Widowers Rock" about a mile on either side of every village on the ocean. The one near Kimsquit is called Ogwa'ti, and there is thought to be blood on it. A person mourning a consort must wear a hat decorated with miniature puppets of which the features are here upwards, should this be omitted when the offender remarries, the new husband or wife will soon die.

In addition to these taboos, there are numerous laws of behaviour, an infraction of which renders the offender liable to social disapproval. Widows and widowers should not their hair down, and the former should rub ashes on the face. Sexual intercourse is prohibited to both sexes. If the rule is broken, the relatives of the deceased are insulted. Remarriage should not take place for at least a year, although among poor people it sometimes occurs after only six months, in which case all taboos and restrictions automatically cease. There is no law on this point, but it is considered fitting to allow this period to elapse. These requirements clearly indicate that here as elsewhere it is not merely an individual affair, but reveals social and

Boas-Teit-Swanton B-1 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB
Bellabella, NEB

boulder and round it lightly, even farther than Grizzly Bear himself had been able to do.

"Now," said Grizzly Bear, "go home. But don't display your powers immediately. If they start to handle you roughly as before, just pretend still to be weak, and watch who are your chief tormentors. Then, if they anger you too much, exert your strength."

When the youth returned to his village his companions, who knew of his search for supernatural aid, came running out.

"There comes so-and-so," they said, "who went away to get power."

They were all eager to know whether or not he had succeeded, but the lad did not gratify their curiosity. After a time they began their usual sport of wrestling, nor was it long before they had begun to throw their playmates to and fro, as they had often done. He allowed them to believe him a wrestling until the whole crowd jumped on him, forcing him to the ground, and derriding him for his failure to obtain supernatural help. Then he exerted his strength. Catching one of his persecutors by the neck he squeezed him until his head was squeezed from his body; next he seized two, one in each hand, and crushed them together with such a shock that they were killed. Grizzly Bear had endowed him with the strength of a bear, which he used to slay all who had ordered him. Once avenged, he assumed the form of a grizzly bear and ran away, never to return.

THE GIRL'S STORY[1]

A chief and his wife had a daughter who, not having reached the age of puberty, always slept beside her father. One night she was startled by finding a man holding intercourse with her, but she could not tell who it was. The same thing happened repeatedly just before dawn, her unknown always fleeing so rapidly that she could not identify him. Greatly puzzled, she at last hit on a plan to find her lover. Like all women she carried a small bag containing the paint used to decorate herself; she took this to bed with her, unclosed, and determined to throw it at the person who was visiting her. Towards dawn she was wakened as usual, hurled her pouch in the darkness, and heard the thief as it struck someone. In the morning everyone noticed that an ugly old dog living in the house had a smear of paint over its face and there was considerable discussion as to how this could have happened. The girl was terrified, suspecting, as was the case, that the dog had heard her make some unkind remark about its face and had become her lover in revenge.

The girl soon felt that she was pregnant. The time of delivery arrived with unprecedented rapidity, and she gave birth to four puppies, three

[1] Told Boas 1897.

[illegible] 2-3 (1522-1524) 1940
[illegible]

PLATE I

115
142
291
B28

Photograph by H. J. Harris, National Museum of Canada

Indian Woody

[p 26 (B)]

McDowell E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NES Bellacoola NES

PLATE 8

115
142
302
291

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Capsalis Schooner

[p 26 (R)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

PLATE 4

115
142
291
302

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Jim Pollard

[pl. 4 (2)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

ability are always seeking to lend goods to those who are planning potlatches or other rites, knowing that the investment is safe and lucrative.

X uses his own discretion as to how much wealth is necessary. He knows how much he owes for presents received on previous occasions, and would not dream of giving a potlatch until able to repay these. Failure to do so would hold him up to the derision of the whole countryside. But he acts upon his own judgment with regard to interest. If he continues to hoard goods until he is able to repay with great increase, he gains prestige from his generous returns, but meanwhile he does not enjoy the distinction which would have followed a smaller affair at an earlier period. Further, there is the uncertainty about how much his wife's family will contribute, though that can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy; in Bella Coola every transaction is made publicly, so each man knows the wealth of his neighbour. The favourite month for a potlatch is October, before the *kusiut* dances, when there is abundance of food. At this season there is plenty of salmon roe, berries, and crabapples, all of which might be ruined by frost. Occasionally, a potlatch takes place after the *kusiut* period, but in that case the only foods available are olachen grease, smoked meat, smoked fish, dried hemlock-bark, and dried berries. If several men in one village decide to give potlatches in the same year there may be rivalry and dispute as to which shall be first. There is no satisfactory method of settling this point.

When all is ready X tells a herald (I, p. 244) to summon his fellow villagers to his house the following day for *xläxtwm*. It is customary for all to accept, but no social obligation is broken should a man or woman fail to do so.

The next morning no one eats in his own house, knowing that free food will be distributed. While his expected guests are adorning themselves by washing and painting, X, aided by his family and others, prepares large quantities of food, borrows boxes, and makes other necessary arrangements. Pre-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

nature will try to bestow a valuable present. If a man is too poor to give anything, he can avoid the obligation by not dancing when his tune is beaten out. The presents are piled together, and then the host, aided by several important chiefs, distributes them to the messengers, at the same time making laudatory speeches. The chief of the envoys receives more than the members of his crew.

Then the messenger-chief stands up and announces the names of those whom X has invited to his potlatch, using in each case the ancestral designation of the person summoned. Then the envoys, in a body, go to every house in the village. Probably all to be invited are present in the house of the chief, yet the messenger-chief must call out in the doorway of each house:

"Chief So-and-so, prepare your paddles and leave tomorrow."

Early next morning the messengers rouse those whom they have invited and, as a mark of respect, help them to carry their goods to the canoes. There is an attitude of shaming combined with that of deference, since those assisted will have been placed under obligations. They also take to their canoes their own recently acquired goods. Envoys and guests set out together in their respective craft, and only separate as they near Bella Coola.

ARRIVAL OF THE GUESTS

While the canoes containing the first party of guests remain at anchor to wait for high tide, the envoys proceed at once to X's house, now completely redecorated if not entirely rebuilt. Here a huge fire is blazing, and members of the *atsuk* society are passing in and out, making ready for the ceremony. Both men and women beautify themselves by painting their faces in any designs they fancy, and by combing their hair and placing eagle down upon it. The guests at anchor lay planks across their canoes so as to form a dancing platform. Then, as the tide rises, the singers in the house beat out the tune of

F. McDermith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

575 203 796 call is that something strange has happened to the "mortal." At intervals throughout the day he repeats this announcement, and towards nightfall goes around calling:

Shinap, shinap, kuluciut, "Cure, cure, ye members of the *kusiut* society, power has come to the son of the chief for the mortal."

The *kuluciut* assemble in X's house, taking their places around the fire; the uninitiated crowd near the doorway. X is seated among his relatives and some of the senior members of the society behind the fire. A herald calls out:

"I want a *siki* to help X."

575 791 796 [424] [773] In every village there are at least two *kuluciut* who have, embodied with their *kusiut* names, the professional prerogative of acting as healer to every novice; it is believed that the ancestor of each obtained a name and this right through a revelation from some supernatural healer. Since that time the owner of the name has been able to insert some of his own ever-present power into a neophyte to enable him to sustain the dangers of admission to the society. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated. The profession of *siki* can be transmitted by willing like any other prerogative and it occasionally happens that the same individual is *siki* for both *kusiut* and *nusuk*. In answer to the herald's call, the two *siki* come forward and crouch behind the fire, one on either side of it. [425] [302] [292] [237] Their faces are blackened with soot, and each wears a blanket, decorated with dyed cedar-bark, thrown loosely over his shoulders, leaving the chest and stomach bare except for an apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Meanwhile beating sticks are distributed among most of the *kuluciut* who strike furiously on the floor with them, without any attempt to keep time; the sole object is to produce the greatest din possible.

One of the *siki* contorts himself in an amazing manner, presses his hands against his stomach as if to force something from it, and rolls from side to side on his haunches, until at length he produces, as if from his body, a rock crystal (see Plate 3). He waves this to and fro in his hands, then goes

[See category 116, p. 84(C) - ANALYST]

[illegible] Boas Collection B-9 (1922-1924) 1948
[illegible] Smithsonite 1953

[Kwiot Society Initiation]

individual, other than an indefinite recollection of the amount of goods used for his dyed cedar-bark. People always have sufficient goods to validate *kwiot* prerogatives; in fact, if a proud person gives too lavishly to confirm the initiation of a relative, the marshals sometimes burn the goods, giving no explanation other than that the uninitiated must not be led to believe that a *kwiot* ceremony is an affair of wealth like a potlatch. Formerly, goods were given only at initiation ceremonies, but between 1880 and 1890 a chief gave presents, instead of food, at a dance. His example was followed, once none was willing to be outdone, although such gifts are still called "food." The name of the donor is always announced, whether he is the dancer himself or one of his relatives.

X, though now a member of the *kwiot* society, is still a novice and cannot give a dance[1] until the next ceremonial season, that is, until one year has elapsed. The marshals instruct him about his costume, and about the manner in which he must deport himself during this period, matters which depend to a considerable extent upon his prerogative. If he is a Cannibal, Skreech, or Breaker dancer he must not eat unsmoked salmon, nor must he enter a house in which either a potlatch or a memorial potlatch is taking place.[2] Failure to obey this injunction would warrant punishment from a foreign tribe. Unless his prerogative is to give one of these, or the Ghost dance, he must keep his face constantly blackened. Every novice must wear a collar of dyed cedar-bark. The marshals warn him to be circumspect in dealing with uninitiated persons; he can talk to them, but it is most improper for him to engage in any familiarity or frivolous play. Above all, he must neither gamble nor take part in non-athletic games,

[1] A Cannibal novice, however, begins to exercise his prerogative immediately, although he must also perform a compulsory dance the following year.

[2] This prohibition was once broken at *Bympo'o*. A skilled leader was required to arrange the taste at a memorial potlatch and the only man fit for the purpose, a resident of *Ilsmil*, was a Cannibal novice. After much deliberation he was called upon, but great care was taken to hide his identity and it was years before the infraction became known.

by K is called. Having dined, the guests depart while the craftsmen continue their labours. Towards dusk the house is cleared up, the chips thrown on the fire and everything made ready. On this night the uninitiated are invited, but there are a few and important differences in ritual between Bella Coola and Kimsquit. In the former the masks are carefully concealed, whereas in Kimsquit one or two, or sometimes all, are suspended behind the fire by the carpenters. It is exceedingly difficult for an observer to understand why this practice does not at once remove all secrecy from the rite. The explanation appears to lie in the fact that the uninitiated, ignorant of how they have been made, see in them strange objects evidence of the power of the *Initiated*. In Kimsquit, moreover, members of the society emphasize the fact that the dancers are supernaturally endowed representations of what the beings above are doing and performing, and it is only at certain rites that they are actually supposed to be present. One old Bella Coola remembered having heard from his grandfather that long before his time the carpenters used to make the masks in their own houses where the uninitiated could see them; the dancer would come in, wave his arm over the craftsman's head and cry *hoip* if the workmanship was excellent. The man who described this expressed his own scepticism, and added that it would have destroyed the key-note of secrecy. A possible explanation of this important difference in ritual will be given at the end of this chapter; for the present it will be enough to point out that the masks are left suspended in Kimsquit, and concealed in Bella Coola.

Towards dusk the herald goes to every house to summon the *Initiated*, who have adorned themselves for the ceremony by washing and painting, as the uninitiated have also done. The members assemble slowly, in fact an observer finds the interminable delays of every *Initiated* dance most provoking. At last all have appeared and taken their places around the fire, while the uninitiated eagerly wait near the door for the invitation which they know will soon be given. One of the mar-

[The Dance of Nine Cords]

[illegible] gives a certain doctor has the definite prerogative of throwing them on the fire. So much is stated into the flames he calls out:

"Please return directly to the supernatural ones."

The only exception is for the souls of *Awi'tlimahana* for which he cry is:

"Please return directly to your repository."

Before X can again take his normal place in the community it is necessary to remove from him the evil, which is conceived as being something physical that has entered his body. This is the belief taught to the uninitiated as emphatically that the *kakaxtsi* themselves appear to believe it, at any rate, whenever their inward thoughts, they act as if the evil had substance. As soon as the results have been borne out of the *kakaxtsi* suggests that it is time to expel the evil. All the *kakaxtsi* in the house crowd around X, as many as can reach his body pressing against his stomach with their hands, always in an upward direction. Higher and higher they go, from stomach to chest, from chest to neck, as if massaging some object. At last it is thought to have been expelled, and X brings his hands together, as if holding something with great care. Suddenly he throws them up in the air, opening them as he does so, and calling out:

Awakkilawe ale awaxapa, "Go back to your ancient home."

These ritual words have been handed down from ancient times and are used by every *kakaxtsi* to dismiss his evil. Whither it is sent is problematical. Some say to X's repository, others to *Nuqalowaiita*; the Bella Coola do not know. Often one of his songs has been sung on the sidewalk outside X's house; the evil may be returned from there.

This rite ends the ceremony and the *kakaxtsi* disperse. It is obvious that every *nukwam* must vary according to the person of the dancer, but the above is typical of the ritual. A call can now come to any *kakaxtsi*, and one often descends at this time, so that X's *nukwam* is *kaxtlimaw* for another dancer.

For the rest of the ceremonial season X has to observe certain rules. He must wear his collar of cedar-bark and

around every *kuxiat* dance. Usually all *kuksuiat* do so in any case, but the attendance of all novices and those who have had calls is obligatory. If the dancer's face has been blackened, it must be kept so during this period. *At every gathering* he dances to his eight songs, and throughout the ceremonial season has the power of attracting to himself the spirit of an unmarried person. He sleeps in whatever house a dance is taking place, but is forbidden to hold sexual intercourse except in his own, which, of course, is possible only when a call comes to another household. Failure to obey this injunction was formerly punished by the marshals with death. These rules apply to every dance.

Nuxsmis owns *Tsaqalwaaista* at the winter solstice, and so their sing calls come to those *kuksuiat* of whom he is patron. It is uncertain whether or not this entails the regular ceremony of four nights' duration. On the entry of the supreme being, *Nuxsmis* seizes his paddle (*or pole?*), returns to *Smaiso·*, and then descends the Bella Coola River. It is believed by the uninitiated that X can see him as he passes, and the singers compose a ninth song for him. The words describe how the departing *Nuxsmis* empties a large number of olachen into the river.* X dances to it, but no call comes to him. This final episode of the complicated ritual occurs, of course, after calls have come to other *kuksuiat*.

It sometimes happens that no *kuxiat* of whom *Nuxsmis* is patron has enough food to give the lengthy dance just described, but some type of ritual is necessary to inaugurate the ceremonial season. Accordingly, someone with the proper prerogatives is asked by the marshals to see *Nuxsmis* when at the mouth of the river; then, when he passes upstream four days later, a call can come to any *kuxiat*. This abbreviated ceremony, termed *Smāhudjuqwisan*, is carried out in the manner described above, except that it is completed in four days with only two songs.

*Nuxsmis is accordingly often called *Nuxsloxun*.

"Path Clearers" are to it that no one passes between him and the fire. The uninitiated are not expelled from the house and their curiosity is aroused. Meanwhile the singers prepare songs for X, describing his supernatural persons, and some *Initiates* carpenters are instructed to make in secret two small pieces of wood, about one foot in length and six inches wide, sometimes half-moon shaped. They cover these with dyed cedar-bark on which they paint the designs appropriate to each being.* On the morning of the fourth day,* X blackens his face with soot or charcoal, obtained by pouring water on a fire, and dons the usual *Initiate* costume. A herald then invites the *Initiates* to assemble in X's house. Presently they proceed to the lowest house of the village, where the singers beat out the tunes of the "Path Clearers," remembered from a previous year. They dance, while X stands, shifting his feet and moving his apron as if he also wished to perform but was too weary to do so. This is repeated at every house of the village, except that in which the potlatch was held; most of the *Initiates* follow the procession, as do some of the uninitiated. Finally, with X last of all, they enter the potlatch house, where foreign guests and many uninitiated have assembled.

In Kimsquit the preliminary four days of watching are omitted, but from this point on, the rites of the two areas are practically identical.** As X enters, all the *Initiates* who have pounding sticks begin to beat on the floor and the woman drone. Without delay, and without attention to the timeless thumping, X begins to dance, sunwise, around the fire, at intervals casting on it particles of eagle down which have the effect of making the supernatural ones above take their places. He calls out intermittently that he can see the beings above sitting down, and a herald repeats his remarks loudly. In Bella Coola the four "Path Clearers" walk close behind X.

*The distinctive designs are given by Boas, to whom the reader is referred.

**It is probable that X must first lie down when *Nuxtpsme's* dancer reports that the canoe is at the mouth of the river.

***It is uncertain whether the differences in ritual are typical of Bella Coola and Kimsquit, or merely represent variations in individual prerogatives.

[illegible]

[The Dance of White]

houses. The night's ceremony concludes with a meal and the admonitions of the marshals.

No further description is needed of the rites taking place the next day, that of *nuxnuxalaqs*, when a second song is composed, again dealing with X's powers, and wood for masks is cut. The evening's ceremonial does not last so long as that of *kuiaxuaxa*.

The next day, *qaelaw*, the carpenters work on the masks, some of which must be finished by nightfall. Late in the evening both *kuiaxuaxa* and uninitiated prepare themselves by painting and washing; at this time the young men provide pots of warm water for their female friends. As already described, the *kuiaxuaxa* are the first to enter, followed by the uninitiated when all is ready. In Kimsquit they see the masks of at least some of X's supernatural patrons suspended by cords of dyed cedar-bark from a sleeping pole that stretches from the floor at the base of the back-room to the cross-beam behind the fire. It is said, although the informant could not guarantee the truth of the statement, that long ago masks had to be displayed at this dance, though it was optional at others. It is a serious and sacred time, one at which frivolity is quite out of place, and the marshals are in readiness to punish any offender. One very old informant told of having seen a marshal strike down and kill a *kuiaxuaxa* from another house for holding intercourse with a woman on this night. The heralds stay near the door, repeating and enlarging on the remarks of the marshals; the fluency of these functionaries always adds appreciably to the success of any Bella Coola rite. On this occasion X and the dancer of *Nuxlaxnum* must perform, followed by those who have danced in former years, according to the desire of the singers; later in the season, when many *kuiaxuaxa* have performed, the rite may continue almost till dawn, for all must dance. After the departure of the uninitiated the *kuiaxuaxa* eat leisurely, while a marshal addresses them, commenting on the ritual and, perhaps, asking a man

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

society have recovered from the shock of X's disappearance. Thereafter the *Sarcia* dances continue night after night, but the Cannibal remains hidden. Sometimes he is carried to a dance, concealed within a drum; more often he remains within the back room of his own house or hides in some lonely part of the mountains. Throughout this period he eats little or nothing, and formerly used to devour a bowl of roots that produced unconsciousness. The length of concealment depends entirely on X. If he desires to impress the uninitiated with the dangers which he has survived, he remains hidden for a long time; consequently, the period varies from a week to two months or even more. On every occasion that a marshal addresses the *Sarcia* he warns them to watch for X's return, and garbled accounts of this reach the uninitiated.

When X's relatives and the marshals have decided that the Cannibal has been long enough absent, they make arrangements for him to reappear. The time selected is always the night of a *sabarum*, and after the departure of the uninitiated on the preceding evening the marshals discuss arrangements with the *Sarcia* and also talks to various individuals. Several *Sarcia* shave X's head, except a small patch above the forehead, to support the story which he will tell of the high winds prevailing in the land above, which blew the hair from his head.*

After the dismissal of the uninitiated on the following night of *sabarum*, the *Sarcia* make their final arrangements. When they judge from the passage of the stars or the state of the tide that dawn is at hand, several members of the society climb to the roof of the previously selected house. First they sound a whistle, then thump on the roof with their feet, and call out:

Xwe, xwe, xwe: this is a cry used by Cannibals returned from above which is supposed to indicate a longing for meat.

The *Sarcia* sleeping within, knowing that their house has been selected, are ready as soon as they are awakened. The

*One old man mentioned that in his youth this was done with a sharpened piece of iron; he was unable to state what was used in earlier times.

[The Scratchers]

They do not blacken their faces on receipt of a call as do most Initiates.

The theme of their songs is of the land above, instead solely of their persons.

On visiting a house where a potlatch or ceremony is taking place they sit with the Camilials in one of the back corners; this group is given food before any of the other guests.

They do not exercise their prerogative on fellow Scratchers, Camilials, or Breakers.

They are liable to heavy loss when the call is upon them and also to departure. In such cases they run forth, apparently guarded and accompanied by other Initiates, and rush into every house to frighten the uninitiated.

They must recompense those whom they have scratched.

They act as peace-makers among the Initiates, since the necessity of accompanying a Scratcher who proceeds to be feasted overrides all petty causes of strife.

Though any definite concept of graded rank in the Initiate society is quite foreign to the Bella Coola, it is generally felt that Scratchers and Breakers are only slightly less important than Camilials. The patron of every Scratcher is *Snu'ulaxdux Alqunxtin*, one of the sons of *Alqunxtin*; this supernatural being scratches the supernatural ones in the land above, and his father alone can restrain him. The prerogative is fairly common, and it is probable that in early days there was at least one Scratcher in every village.

The following account of the ritual was obtained from one of the Bella Coola marshals and describes the manner in which the dance should have been performed by the Scratcher, *Alaxkwaic*, his daughter's daughter's son, who had recently obtained the prerogative formerly possessed by his deceased mother's father. It will be convenient to refer to *Alaxkwaic* as X and use the present tense in recording the proper ritual, though it was largely omitted on the last occasion the dance was given.

X arranges a suitable day with the marshals for receiving

[i.e. - the Scratchers - ANALYST]

[illegible] 575*
796*
[734]
[828]

[illegible] Cannibal, X is liable to [illegible] the rest of the ceremonial season. During this period X remains secluded within his house, and the uninitiated allingly avoid him, believing him to be mentally deranged. He attends every *Tsetsaut* dance, where his brave motions help to frighten the uninitiated. If strangers from Kimsquit or *Tal'is* visit Bella Coola, he at once becomes frenzied, rushes to the beach and wrestles them, precisely as a Cannibal would do; in this case he must be pacified in the same manner. A Scratcher always owns goods to recompense wrestled foreigners. If it is the first time that X has danced, he must remain secluded for the following summer, and give his ceremony the next winter. During the warm months he remains within the back-room of his house, and though some of the uninitiated know of his presence, still believing him mad they do not intrude upon his privacy. The coming of foreigners during this period excites him to frenzy and he wrestles them, irrespective of the time of year.

It might be mentioned that some Scratcher names are indicative of the dancer's function, and others, such as "The Cause of Fear," have reference to his prowess. [551]

THE BREAKER DANCE

When a Bella Coola speaks of the four which *kusiut* dances cause the uninitiated, he almost invariably cites in order the Cannibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances. *Kukusiut* with these three prerogatives have no more privileges than other members of the society, nor are they considered superior in rank, but similarity in their functions leads to an almost automatic association. If questioned further, a Bella Coola will usually say that he regards the Cannibal dance to be first, with the Scratch and Breaker equal, but less important. Breakers share with Cannibals and Scratchers the prerogatives of not blackening their faces; of having as theme for their songs the land 575* 796* 424 [781] [554] [302] [533] [264]

B. McDougall E-5 (1922-1924) 1968
NRS Bella Coola 1928

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

By THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

E 99.5
.B4 B96

Slowly and steadily the rope is lowered to the carpenters who coil it in a loop over the foot of the ladder. It seems an endless climb, as this part of the ceremony is expected to take quite as long as X's ascent, and must not be finished until just before dawn. At last the faint sound of the carols is heard and presently the ladder itself begins to shake. Two or more senior members of the society climb up through the roof and return, amid the shouting of the *kukusiut* women, with the traveller. The uninitiated gaze at him with fear and awe.

"He is indeed wonderful," they say to one another.

[302]
[772]

X's face was painted black and white when he started his climb, but it is now clean and the uninitiated hardly need to be reminded by the *kusiut* orator that the strong wind in *Sowq'* has blown all paint from his skin. He sits down beside an eloquent *kusiut* to whom he talks at length and who excites the curiosity of the audience by telling them that they will soon hear all about it. When the tale is finished, the orator stands up and tells what the traveller has seen in the land above. He states that X found a certain number of tally posts leaning and straightened them, but he never mentions whose lives have thus been preserved. The uninitiated assume without question that X has just given the orator these details, though in point of fact he has done nothing of the kind, his apparent confidant having been chosen for his skill in inventing interesting items. As soon as the story is over, the uninitiated are told to leave. While the usual meal is being prepared the carpenters haul down the ladder and cast it into the fire without ceremony. The *kukusiut* listen to the usual admonitions of the marshals as they eat, and then disperse in the early dawn, wearied from the all-night session.

Most of the village sleeps through the day, but in the late afternoon the heralds summon the *kukusiut* to X's house. The dance of the Tally Posts resembles a *kusiotem* to the extent that four days of ceremonial follow the four days just described. The evening following X's ascent is *Isustimem*, the

[illegible]

announcing that the dead have come with a call for X. Meanwhile a number of *kukuxiut* assemble in the dancer's house where he strips off his clothing and covers himself with dirt and ashes. In all other *kuxiut* dances the performer endeavors to beautify himself, or at least to blacken or paint his face according to some definite pattern, but X's aim is to imitate the appearance of the dead who are notoriously unsightly.

After some delay, X rushes forth in the midst of his escort and enters the lowest house of the village. The frightened uninitiated are hiding in their bedrooms, but they peer through cracks and watch X as he bends to the floor, picks up handfuls of dirt and throws them wildly in all directions, heedless of what damage he may do. It is obvious that he is frenzied and mad, like Cannibals who have received their calls. His *kukuxiut* associates pretend to restrain him, but he always outwits their efforts and continues to hurl dirt. At last he withdraws, moves to the next house and there repeats the performance. This is done in every dwelling in the village. Most of the uninitiated in X's own house leave it as soon as the *kukuxiut* began to assemble, and by this time all others have fled, so that when the party returns there are only members of the society present. The frightened non-members hear the frenzied beating of sticks as efforts are made to cure X of his madness, but without avail. Soon a sound of wailing is heard, and the heralds come around announcing that X has vanished—the dead have taken him. The *kukuxiut* spend the rest of the night in his house, silently listening to speeches from the marshals, and disperse about dawn.

X's sojourn in the land of the dead is of varying length. Occasionally he returns on the night of his disappearance, having been absent only a few hours, or he may remain in hiding for several weeks. The usual time for his reappearance is the night after his departure, and with him always come a number of ghosts. The ritual on his return is always the same, irrespective of the duration of his absence.

At dusk the heralds call the *kukuxiut* to X's house where

[Ka Ghost Dance]

they sit in silence, awaiting his arrival. Presently word is sent to him, for he is always hiding near, and he comes through the door and sits near the fire. But he does not resemble the man who left the village. His face and body have been painted green with crushed leaves, in imitation of the colour of the dead; in his hand he carries a bone, said to be part of the leg of a dead man, though in reality it is from a deer. After him the ghosts enter one by one. They are a number of *kukusiut* who have been painted black and green to give them an unearthly appearance; there is no fixed pattern, each following his own, or the carpenter's ideas of the uncanny, though the body colour on which the other tints are smeared is usually white. Each dead man has a special name and each acts accordingly in an eccentric way. One enters walking backwards, another hops on one leg, and a third walks on his hands—because ghosts always act in the opposite manner to mortals. Each trills in a peculiar way and performs something like a dance, waving his arms to and fro, up and down, constantly pointing with one finger, before lying down close to the central fire. With them enters a woman with painted face, clad in a blanket and carrying a basket on her back; she is *Alpuskat*, who gathers berries in the land of the dead. She begins to go around picking up any small articles that she sees and depositing them in her basket, from which anyone picks them out at will and returns them to the places whence they had been taken. One of the first actors to appear carries a stick for time beating, and acts as leader of the ghost singers. Whenever a spark from the fire lights on one of the dead, causing the latter to jump, the leader pounds violently with his stick. When all are present, the leader beats time and they prepare to leave. Ghosts are feckless, however; consequently, instead of going straight to the door, some go in one direction, some in another, but all are at length shepherded outside. X and his visitors, with a large number of *kukusiut*, go to every house in the village repeating the same procedure, in silence, except for the trill of the dead men. The uninitiated do not

[The Ghost Dance]

gation. When the dance has ended, X gives presents, first to each spectator, and then to those who have assisted him, starting with the singers. This is the last event of the evening and the *kakaxtsi* disperse.

The factor of doing things in the reverse order appears not only in actions, but in the order of the ceremonies. These just described, although at the beginning of the rite, resemble a *sakaxsa* in many respects. Consequently, it is not surprising that the next night is *galion*. The singers are the first to assemble and they compose a second song for X, with the same theme but different words and tune to that already prepared. Meanwhile the *kakaxtsi* are gathering and when they have learnt the new song, the uninitiated are summoned. No enclosure has been built, and X is much in evidence. His body has been painted green with a preparation of grass rubbed in water, he wears the usual collar of dyed cedar-bark and a kind of head-dress with a triangular projection over his forehead. His two songs are sung, and X dances vigorously to each in the manner just described. This is followed by the customary *galion* ritual, *kaxtsi after kaxtsi* dancing as the singers beat out his two songs. Finally a Cannibal begins to growl fiercely in one of the rear corners and the uninitiated flee hurriedly. The *kakaxtsi* eat together, listening to the admonitions and remarks of the marshals, and then X dances once more. Among the peculiarities of the Ghost dance is the fact that the call may be returned at this point, or X may again become mad, according to the wishes of the marshals. If they desire a further display of his insanity, he rushes out as soon as he has finished dancing and proceeds to the lowest house of the village. A number of *kakaxtsi* follow him and appear to be trying to prevent him from picking up handfuls of dirt from the floor and throwing them in all directions in an aimless manner. As a matter of fact his guardians take care that X hurls approximately the same amount in each house, as none of them is willing to have more damage done in his own house than in others. After a visit to each dwelling, the party returns to

[illegible]

PLATE II

HQ
841
S42
S42
S16

Photograph by the author

Mrs. Justice Moody (left) and
Mrs. Willie Mack, two Bella
Coola women

[F S16 (A)]

2: McDermith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

PLATE 14

142
291
302

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Mrs. Jim Pollard, a Kimsquit woman

[p 516 (B)]

2:14:Dorsetth E-5 (1921-1924) 1948
NEA Bellecoola NEA

PLATE II

142
291
302

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Mrs. Jim Pollard, profile

[P 516(c)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 16

142
291
302
342

Photograph by the author

Reuben Schooner, a Bella Coola man, and his children

[p 516 (D)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 17

142
291
302
342

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Lame Charlie, a Bella Coola man

[p 516 (E)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 10

142
241
302

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Captain Myers, an aged Bella Coola man

[p 516 (F)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

PLATE 19

142
291
302

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Skookum Mary, a Kitsegukla woman

[p 516 (G)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 20

142
291
302

Photograph by the author

Alec Davis, a full-blooded Bella Coola

[p 516 (H)]

2:McIlwraith,E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

As they grow older the plainness of feature is more pronounced, accompanied by increasing heaviness of body (see Plate 16). Many of the adults are corpulent and move with slow, awkward gait. As a rule the men have great strength and are capable of prolonged and arduous exertion, particularly in paddling; in fact, constant use of canoes may have developed this powerful, ungainly build. Few are good walkers or packers; such, if they are found, usually belong to the lighter interior type. Among the grown people the face, though unbeautiful, often has a kindly expression, even becoming attractive in laughter or when a friendly grin spreads from ear to ear. With advancing age the prominent nose seems to grow larger, frequently becoming almost aquiline (see Plate 17). Many of the older people assert that this was even more common in former times. In time the face becomes lined with wrinkles and the body appears to shrink (see Plate 18). The teeth are in many cases worn down to the gums; this seems to cause no discomfort, though an old person cannot utter the glottal stops and velar sounds with which the language abounds without emitting a fine spray of saliva. They are absolutely unable to pronounce several of the Bella Coola words, while the constant spitting is a disagreeable feature of their conversation, particularly to an investigator striving, often vainly, to record sounds accurately. The deep wrinkles of old women give them a benign "grandmotherly" expression, which makes them more attractive in extreme age than in youth (see Plate 19). Senile decay is so frequent that the return to infancy in mind as well as in physical powers is regarded as normal.

Among the coastal tribes hair on the face is not uncommon, but in this characteristic the Bella Coola are pre-eminent. Nearly all the men have sparse moustaches, at least; many have a heavy growth, and several are full-bearded. That this was due to white mixture was assumed at first, but no evidence could be found to support this view. There are a number of half-breeds in the community but they are no more hirsute than the full-blooded Indians. Razors are now almost univer-

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

142 144 [302] sally used but the older people state that beards were by no means rare in former times. Careful inquiries were made concerning the ancestry of a man, about seventy years of age in 1922, whose curly beard suggests that he must be a half-breed, as indeed he is assumed to be by the white settlers of the valley. His father was *Potlas*, the most influential chief of recent years, his mother was herself the daughter of an important chief. None of the older men had ever heard the slightest rumour of faithlessness on her part. There were white [648] [567] [622] traders on the coast at the time of his birth, and intercourse with slave women and others of low family was not uncommon, but it would have been difficult for a chief's wife to misconduct herself, and still more difficult for her to conceal all knowledge of it in view of the open life which prevailed at that period. Moreover, it is said that *Potlas* himself had a similar beard, as did also the parents of several men who in 1922 were fifty or sixty years of age.

142 144 826 [302] Although the possibility of white mixture cannot be overlooked in the case of this one individual, one must not disregard the opinion of the people themselves on hairiness in general. They are proud of it and regard beards and moustaches as marks of virility given to them by *Alquntăm*; baldness and lack of facial hair are considered a sign of weakness. They aver that their fathers and grandfathers were even more [186] hirsute than they. Furthermore, they point out with pride that this is a difference between themselves and the tribes of the interior, who are, as they say in scorn, "hairless like Chinamen." Finally, it is noteworthy that the hair on the head of many Bella Coola is wavy, or even curly (see Plate 20), instead of straight as among the majority of Indian tribes.[1]

Character

181 It is an almost impossible task to describe briefly the characteristics of a people. Those of the Bella Coola have

[1] This characteristic has led the writer to wonder if it could possibly have been caused by Ainu mixture.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

287 386 thrown in, and hot stones lifted in to heat the mixture. Even at the present time dye is never made on a stove, as it is thought that the gradual heating by means of stones is essential. As it becomes warm, the woman thoroughly stirs the ingredients with her hands, then, when it boils, some of the bark is lifted out and more added. This process is continued until the brew is deep red in colour. It is allowed to stand for a few minutes before the pounded cedar-bark is placed in it. The operator gently works it around until it is saturated, then lifts it out and hangs it up to dry. Several pieces of bark can be dyed in one solution, though it is necessary to add more alder-bark and more stones to maintain the proper strength and heat.

[285 177] Although red cedar-bark is the kind most commonly used, the Bella Coola sometimes use the yellow cedar for mats and blankets, an art learnt from the Bella Bella.

THE MANUFACTURE OF PAINT

386 [302 532 317] Paint, such as was used both for decorating the body and for portraying designs on wood, was obtained from a kind of rock found near the head of a creek entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Sunset*. Fragments of the red stone were broken off, thrown into a vessel containing water, and brought to a boil by the insertion of hot stones. Under the action of heat the rock became soft so that the manufacturer was able to pulverize it and run off the semi-liquid mixture into a small box. He would then chew cedar-bark and salmon roe, and spit into the paint, thoroughly mixing his saliva with it. When dry, the mixture was ready for use, and could be kept indefinitely.

[532 177] Anyone could paint who had the artistic skill, and it was chiefly artists who used to make this kind of paint. Since the introduction of the white man's brilliant colours, there has been no demand for the duller native shade, and the making of paint has been discontinued.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Ashaxsa: One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

Askaml: Unidentified town on the outer coast mentioned in a *Sisaok* story of the beginning of time.

Asklalemdimut: Name acquired by one of the first settlers at *Snaidi* in the beginning of time.

Askomaxwa: *Smaam's* son in the beginning of time.

Atlaz'i: Small portable canoe.

Atlnam: Desertion of a spouse.

Awaxmas: 1—"The Copper One."
2—"Snow," in the language of Deer.

Awaxmalaywas: Imitation potlatch carried out by *nuxalkmc.*

Awaxs: Bella Bella Cannibal living in the beginning of time.

Awaxwaxmut, "The Scatterer of Eagle Down": Name created by *Smaam* for his son in the beginning of time.

Awa: To host.

Awiwiskiks: Bella Bella supernatural being who brings food.

Awuxmut: Person of placid disposition.

Axdis: Bull-roarer.

Axl: To excise rot; the word for potlatch, *Axm,* is supposedly derived from this. [556]

Axm: Potlatch.

Axmaxit: The binding down of a Cannibal with rope.

Axmalim: Unidentified autumn moon, probably the fourth after the summer solstice. [821]

Axmalis di Nuxalkmc, "The Potlatch of the *nuxalkmc*": Second moon after winter solstice. [805]

Axmkila, "First of All": One of the first men to settle at *Nukais* in the beginning of time.

Axolawaxjut: Shaman's ritual error, such as the curing of one who is ceremonially unclean. [752]

Axwaxkaxs: Miniature totem-pole such as is used in mourning ceremony.

Axwaxkwm: Partnership of a poor man with a chief about to give a potlatch, so that the former may repay debts, for which his poverty required no compensation, and thus start himself on the path towards greatness. [552]

Axwaxsimlim: The turning over of a mountain.

Ba'yo: Professional name of a female berry-picker.

Bpambakstu: Stick decorated with copper bangles used in mourning rites by one of the first settlers at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time. [765]

Bpla: The painting of the face as a sign of mourning. [302]

'Chemdimut: Cannibal *Awaxt* name used by the first settlers at *Bella* in the beginning of time.

Chiqwam: *Kwaxt* name of a Bella Coola male Scratcher.

Cxkla: Aversion.

Cxlwala: 1—*Kwaxt* name of a *Tsmsiat* man.
2—Shamanistic power. [775] [787]

Cxlxlumut: Visitation from the life of a recently dead friend, notification of which is conveyed by a start or other feeling of discomfort.

Cxlyaw'i: *Kwaxt* name of a Kimsquit man. The first to use this designation was a relative of the earliest settlers in the beginning of time.

Cxlxlmalaxmas, "The Giver of Shamanistic Power": One of the names of *Tlingit* thunderbird, and hence a designation given to shamans.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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Nuxuxtsqaxux: Woman endowed supernaturally by *Aua'litxulaix* and serving as patron (?) to a *kusiut* dancer.

[719] *nuxulkuls*: Omen of death.

Nuxutxumkuxux, "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *Tlitcaplilax-a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Nuxuxumkaix: 1—Man dwelling in *Kumaqmu's* house.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.

nuxuqaix: The cry of *hi, hi*, uttered by Cannibals.

Nuxuxtsmq: *Kusiut* name assumed by a *Sisaa* woman in the beginning of time.

[424] *nuxuyaxtsux*: *Kusiut* with right to display a puppet-patron. The difference, if any, between this and *qaiaxtsux* is obscure.

Nu'uxuxtsmaxix, "The Widower": One of Raven's names as chief.

[535] *nuxkaxtsk'un*: Synonym for *ḥaxutsux*: Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.

Nuxkuxkuixtsa, "Headlessly Deaf": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[302] *nuxuxuxtsa*: The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a top-knot.

nuxtsxtsa-i: Medicine brewed in a skull.

Nuxtyumix, "Place of Much Firewood": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nuxuxtumix: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.

Nuxtlaqaxtsa-a: One of the first women to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

[305] *nuxuxuxtsa-a ut ma xaxq"ala*: One post.

[828] *nuxqum*: Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogative.

nuxtpid, "Empty House": House in which a *kusiut* dance is taking place.

nuxtsiut: The throwing of grease on a fire to heat, both literally and figuratively, a rival.

[821] *Nuxtxulq"*: 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse.
[827] 2—Eclipse.

nuxtsiltsa: Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe.

nuxuxuxtsix: Hoot-like cry uttered at the coming of a call for *kusiutem* and other important *kusiut* rites.

[777] *nuxq"axtsiltsa*: Unexpected stroke of good fortune.

Nuxuxkumkaix: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.

[772] *Nuxuxlaa*: Site of an ancient town on Schooner Pass.

Nuxuxtalx: The upper heavens.

nuxtsxtsa: Woman with thick pubic hair.

Nuxuxxulaqtsa-a: A *Sisaa* repository.

Nuxtlqaxtsmaxix, "Where *Hquaxtsa* Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[824] *nuxtsxtsa-xuq*: Cottonwood buds.

Nuxtpaxa'xix, "The Place for Catching Salmon": Name assumed by *Smaaan* in the beginning of time.

nuxtsiqwq: Canoe-maker.

Nuxulxm: River entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Nuxqalxt*.

[535] [869] *nuxtsxtsxtsq*: Children's dance which serves as training for *kusiut* rites and to provide entertainment.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14
Chilcotin NE8

Southern Carrier: New shoots boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach. Resembled the decoction made from the bark of the aspen (page 54), or from the new shoots and bark of the tideland spruce (page 51), but the last-mentioned considered most efficacious.

Northern Carrier: Needle tips mixed with large needle tips of the "British Columbia pine" (*Pinus* sp.?), the inside bark of the wild gooseberry (*Ribes* sp.?), bark of the red-osier dogwood (*Cornus stoloniflera* Michx.), the inside pulp of raspberry canes (*Rubus* sp.), stems of the "bearberry" (?black twin-berry, *Lonicera involucrata* Banks?), and the inner bark of the wild rose (*Rosa* sp.), placed in a vessel holding four gallons of water, boiled down to a thick decoction, strained, and bottled. About two tablespoonfuls taken, at sunrise and sunset, for constitutional weakness or paralysis, or if the body were covered with sores.

Gum obtained by heating a green piece of pine (sp.?) painted on the eye to remove white scum and to cure snow-blindness.

Sikani: Pitch chewed and the saliva swallowed for a cough.

Gitksan: Inner bark (scraped from the trunk with a bone scraper after the outer bark had been removed) eaten both for food and as a blood purifier. Purged the body in from half an hour to an hour.

Shavings of the yellow resinous timber found after removal of the bark boiled, the decoction placed in oil, and taken internally as a purgative and diuretic for many serious ailments, including gonorrhoea. Said to produce beneficial results in "consumption."

Young needles plucked in June and eaten as a purgative and diuretic.

For use with a form, *see* page 48.

Abies grandis Lindl., White Fir, Balaam Fir

Bella Coola: Bark of root or of stem boiled, and the decoction taken internally every day for tuberculosis and stomach trouble. Said to have cured many cases of tuberculosis.

Gum from bark blisters found on young trees warmed, mixed with mountain goat tallow, and taken internally for sore throat; also drawn on a hair across sore eyes.

Young, green leaves baked, mixed with fruit of skunk cabbage (*Lysichiton kamtschatcense* Schott.) gathered in October, or the buds gathered in April, split, dried on top of the house, roasted, mixed with a small quantity of slightly roasted roots of the cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.), one or two cupfuls of the gummy buds of the black cottonwood (*Populus trichocarpa* T. and G.), and four or five cupfuls of fresh eulachon oil, allowed to stand one day, then boiled and kept in a box for a hair perfume. Kitimat Indians said to be more expert in its preparation.

Southern Carrier: Tree used for medicine, but details not obtained.
Chilcotin: Not used.

9: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

B 139 751 Ripe cones boiled, and the decoction taken internally for a pain. Neither an emetic nor a laxative. A bed consisting of a sack of ripe cones, placed on top of hot stones, used by rheumatics. Cones also burned to fumigate rheumatics.

A piece of the bark 5 feet long by 2 feet wide used as a mat in a hot bath for rheumatism. Many stones were heated, a little sand strewn over them, the bark spread above with the inside uppermost, and the patient, naked, lay on the bark, covering himself with one or more blankets. A similar bed, but with the bark covered with a few leaves of devil's club (*Fatsia horrida* Sm. B. and H.), used for chronic backache.

B [752] Gum applied to small cuts, broken skin, and suppurating sores.

Branches used to whip a burned arm or leg until the blood came.

Gum boiled and taken internally while hot as a diuretic for gonorrhoea.

See also scrub pine (page 49).

For use with fern. *See* page 48.

C T 139 751 The buds or new shoots, with the gum sometimes found around the outside when they are about half an inch long, boiled in water, and the decoction taken internally for tuberculosis.

Southern Carrier: New shoots and bark of small branches boiled for about two hours, and the decoction taken internally, one or two cupfuls at a time, for pain in the stomach, but not for vomiting, diarrhoea, or constipation. Said to effect a cure in one day, and preferred to the decoction made of scrub pine (page 49) or aspen (page 54).

Gum from new shoots and small branches, scraped out with a little stick, placed in the eyes for snow-blindness.

S [757] *Sikani:* Inside bark scraped and chewed for a cough.

Needles chewed, and the saliva applied to external sores.

Gum, obtained by splitting the tops, applied with a stick to white spots on the eye.

The "flower" boiled and the decoction taken internally for pain in the chest.

T [257] [164] *Gitksan:* Gum extracted from the wood by boiling in water, added to eulachon oil, salmon oil, bear grease, ground-hog fat, lard, etc., and taken internally before meals for consumption.

Twigs bearing both leaves and bark boiled with entire roots of soapolallie (*Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt.); one cupful of the strong decoction taken internally three times a day for rheumatism.

ARACEAE, ARUM FAMILY

B T 139 751 B [502] **Lysichiton kamtschatcense** Schott., Skunk Cabbage, Yellow Arum

Bella Coola: Roots used with oil as a hair tonic.

Roots boiled, and the sweet decoction taken internally for stomach trouble.

See also white fir (page 50).

Gitksan: Root well mashed with water and applied externally for blood poison and boils. Said to bring boils to a head. For use with a fern (*see* page 48).

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

T S B C

137 157 B [158] **Salix Scouleriana** Hook., WILLOW

Bella Coola: Folded inner bark used like that of *Salix lasiandra* Benth. for cuts; but charcoal from the stick not used for diarrhoea.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Salix sp., WILLOW

Sikani: Young willow chewed and the saliva applied to external sores.

White powdery tops chewed for a cough.

Populus tremuloides Michx., ASPEN, TREMBLING POPLAR

Bella Coola: A quantity of bark from the roots boiled, and the decoction taken internally from seven to ten times a day for gonorrhoea with hemorrhage from the urethra. A very bitter decoction, said to be a good remedy that stopped the hemorrhage.

Southern Carrier: Bark used instead of tideland spruce bark (page 51) to make a decoction for pain in the stomach. Considered inferior to the spruce bark.

Sikani: Bark pulverized by pounding, moistened with water, and applied as a paste to wounds.

Bark scraped, scrapings steeped in hot water, and the decoction taken internally for worms. Caused a stool immediately.

Gitksan: Bark of roots chewed or mashed and put on cuts.

Bark alone boiled, and the decoction taken internally as a purgative. Not an emetic.

B C 137 157 B [302] **Populus trichocarpa** T. and G., BLACK COTTONWOOD

Bella Coola: Leaves, ten to fifteen years old, from the lower layers lying rotting on the ground, boiled, and the decoction used as a bath, the patient sitting in it up to his neck for about two hours to cure pain in the body, not rheumatism. A hot stone added from time to time, and the bath repeated the next day.

The buds with their resin boiled and the decoction used as a hair wash. *See also* white fir (page 50).

Half a cupful of buds, picked some time between December and March, mixed with two roots of cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.), a half cupful of buds of mountain alder (*Alnus tenuifolia* Nutt.), and a little water, mashed, and applied warm, but uncooked, as a poultice for pains in the lungs or hips like rheumatism. Said to effect a cure in two days, but harmful if left on longer.

See also western dock (page 56).

Southern Carrier: Buds with their resin boiled for one or two hours, and the decoction taken internally for coughs and lung affections.

C [302] [825] Resin from the buds applied to the face as a cosmetic, or, with the addition of oil, to repel mosquitoes, black flies, and gadflies.

Roots and bark not used; buds not boiled to make a hair wash.

C [152] *Northern Carrier:* Green roots chewed to a pulp and applied to wounds to stop bleeding.

T [302] Inside bark boiled and the decoction used as an eye-wash.

I [157] *Gitksan:* Gummy buds boiled and the resin mixed with bear grease for a hair perfume.

Roots, leaves, and seeds not used.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

844 fessional midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days
[846] the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go
[825] near the room for a year (according to Nuk'xlu'sta, for ten days), else the salmon would take offence.

553 The child is soon given its first name. On this occasion the whole
[852] tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive
[556] small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member of the Kū'siūt, when it is given its Kū'siūt name. This ceremony takes place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qē'mtaloa name.

881 When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting posture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat,
[292] which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that
[821] if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose
[262] her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She
[261] must not chew gum or eat snow (see Fifth Report of Committee, 1889, p. 838).

584 If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, surrounded by his
[431] friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until
[527] he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast, during which he states that he is to be married on the following day. He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four
●[302] women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and
585 four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bridegroom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been
[431] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest. A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man. At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to give him his Sisaa'kn secrets as soon as the pair have their first child.
[851] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents may choose.

586 In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

6:Boas E 5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children. 586

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The nose-ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The masks of the deceased are burnt. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, head-dresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the columns. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by as many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be. 764 [304] [323] [766] [567] [775]

The bed of a mourner must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they shave four small trees and creep through the clefts, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, shaving new trees every day. Mourners cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones. 765 783 [795] 765 [302]

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to catch or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or oolachen. Widow and widower cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person. [262] [328] [322]

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relative invites the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he sings a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was the same as giving away the house of the deceased. 765 556

Religion and Shamanism.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to 773 171